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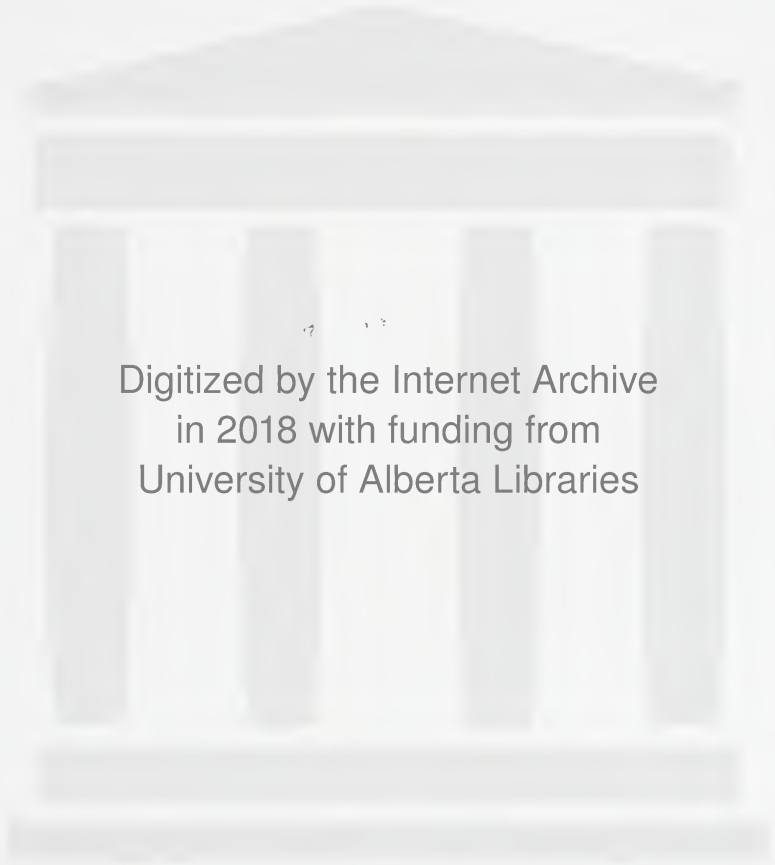
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CHRISTOLOGIES, ANCIENT AND MODERN

A Thesis

Written and submitted by

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INTRODUCTION

Of the conscientious student of Christology the question might well be asked: "Why attempt a theory of the person of Jesus?", "Why not take Jesus as we find him?" Why not accept him as a fact of experience, try to emulate his example and draw ever nearer to him in blessed communion? It is the fact of Christ in the soul of man that matters, not a theory of his person.

To such a question we should be forced to reply that it is impossible to have an experience of Christ without some kind of reasoned Christology, some theory about his person. "Personal experience", as Prof. J. S. Stewart puts it, "is indeed the primary thing, the sine qua non of the Christian life; but experience¹ begets reflection." Experience of any kind must be given form or meaning; thence it issues forth as idea. Because we are rational beings we have to interpret our experience and there is no such thing as experience without interpretation. Religious experience unformulated and unrationalized cannot survive.

1. A Man in Christ, p. 21.

Two factors enter into the doctrine of the person of Jesus. In the first place something real did happen to his disciples away back there. Something new came into their lives which gave them a courage which they had not known before, a spirit of self-renunciation and willingness to serve and suffer, a new sense of values and a new spirit of love and fellowship with God and with each other. This new relationship in which they found themselves came to them through companionship with Jesus. It was this experience of Jesus which led his followers to declare that if any man be in Christ there is a new creation.¹ In some mysterious way they had caught his spirit, so that the mind that was in him was also in them. Their problem now was to explain this thing that had happened to them. This is the second factor in our Christology.

"It was the impression made upon His disciples by the spirit and words of the historic Jesus which first suggested to them that higher view of His significance to which the church has ever since clung."² Where, then, we may ask, did they derive the categories which would enable them to put their experience of

1. 2 Cor. 5:17 Moffatt.

2. Baillie, "The Place of Jesus Christ in Modern Christianity", p. 100.

Jesus into an intellectual framework? They used the thought forms of their own world as every successive generation has had to do. Experience is in some sense permanent and unchanging but the expression of it will change from age to age. Naturally the categories used by the disciples are not entirely adequate for today. Yet we must examine theirs to ascertain if possible the nature of that experience to which they are attempting to give literal expression. Our problem then is to estimate the quality of that life in which God is declared to have been genuinely revealed and to see how it affects mankind, to express the Christian experience of Jesus in terms of our own world view.

In the person of Jesus Christ it is claimed that we have the supreme revelation of God. Although God is manifested to some extent in the whole of His creation the different levels of existence differ vastly in the adequacy of their manifestation. In the person of Jesus God has been able to manifest Himself (to reveal His true nature) more completely than at any other level.

The story of religion, Canon Raven tells us, is the record of man's endeavor to find a satisfying

symbol to embody his apprehension of God.¹ In our own day the ultimate Reality of the universe is variously referred to as 'Creative Principle', 'force', 'vitalizing power', 'Principle of concretion' or even as an interaction which makes for harmonious relations. But all such conceptions, as Dr. Tuttle has pointed² out are entirely inadequate. "An impersonal God", he says, "is too far removed, too indefinite, too elusive. Man cannot grasp it in the form of a universal but only in the guise of a particular finite object." Hence the need for the incarnation of the Deity. Man must objectify the object of his faith. "The infinite spirit whom man worships", he goes on to say, "cannot be less than man in self-consciousness and will." "There may be a time", says Raven, "when sacraments shall cease, but that time is manifestly not yet."³

Certainly the evidence is all in favor of this position. The universal demand for some incarnation of the ultimate reality was never more evident than it is today. Lenin, Sun-yat-sen, Gandhi, Hitler,

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1. Jesus and the Gospel of Love, p. 428. 3. do.
 2. Modern Substitutes in Religion, an article in 'Religion & Life', Spring 1942, pp. 277-8.

Mussolini, Hirohito, all testify to the naturalness of the desire for an incarnate deity. In the article quoted above Principal Tuttle refers especially to the challenge of Communism and Nazism as competing incarnations of the Deity. "Lenin", he says, "is the embodiment of universal invisible force, vital principle. He is completely identified with it. He became the channel of its expression in the history of mankind." Similarly, "the God of Nazism is the state or the racial spirit of the German people. That spirit is the deepest reality above the universe. ...Hitler poses as the incarnation of the German Spirit." The inevitable tendency of mankind to find its religion symbolized and embodied in a man confirms the position reached by argument. It would seem that human nature is such as to demand an incarnation of¹ the ultimate reality.

Hence the urgency of making an evaluation of the life of Jesus. Today other names than that of Christ are competing for the loyalty of mankind. "The man on the street feels instinctively that he is² called to choose between Christ and Antichrist.

1. cf. Baillie, pp.67 and 75.

2. cf. Horton, "Our Eternal Contemporary", p. xviii.

It is imperative that we present to the world the highest embodiment of the divine nature. Otherwise man in his desire for an incarnate god will deify human nature. The question, therefore, which confronts us today is the same as that with which Jesus himself confronted the disciples long ago: "Whom say ye that I am?"¹ The task of answering this challenge for our generation is more urgent now than ever before.

1. Mark 8:29.

Chapter 1.

THE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS

Interesting and important^{as it is} to seek to know how men judged of the historic Jesus and how they judge of him today, it is of far greater importance to learn if possible how Jesus himself judged of his person. The attempt to analyze the consciousness of Jesus may well prove, as some have claimed before now, to be a hopelessly speculative task. To answer the questions 'How did Jesus regard himself?', 'who did he think he was?', is all but impossible. His self-consciousness is a closed book for all of us, but fortunately we do have a few glimpses into it. "The Gospels", as Cave has well put it, "have preserved for us a few intense utterances which give us passing glimpses into the mystery of His inner life. But neither knowledge nor¹ imagination can pierce the secret of His soul."

In turning to the Gospels another difficulty confronts us - the question of interpretation. Guignebert, the French historian suggests the danger inherent in this problem. "It has become very difficult," he says, "if not impossible for us to determine what Jesus said of himself and of his relation to the Kingdom he proclaimed, because the evidence produced

1. S.Cave, "The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, p.11.

by the Evangelists is distorted by an already developed¹ Christology wholly foreign to his own mind."

Accordingly, we must try to form our ideas of how Jesus judged his place and person, not from his words alone, as does Guignebert, but by the total impression made by his life and teaching. However, in attempting to answer the question of Jesus' Christology we must turn first to the 'lives' of Jesus with which we are familiar, in particular to the Synoptic Gospels. Here we find three titles used by Jesus which may possibly shed some light on his estimate of his own person and place: Son of God, Son of Man, and Messiah. Let us consider each of these in turn.

The first of these appellations need not detain us long: Two passages are often quoted as proof that Jesus regarded himself as 'Son of God' interpreted as some sort of heavenly being, viz. Mark 13:32 and² Mat. 11:27. I quote:

"But of that day knoweth no man, not the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father."

and this,

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1. C. Guignebert, 'Jesus', translated from the French by S.H.Hooke, p. 280.
 2. cf also the parallels in Mat. 24:36 and Lk. 10:22.

"All things are delivered unto me of my Father, and no man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him."

Not only are these two passages fundamentally inconsistent, but the title 'the Son' as found in both and with the significance which is apparently given to it (i.e. synonymous with Messiah), would be quite unintelligible to the Jews. As far as the text is concerned Guignebert's position seems to be well taken. That is to say that in the first passage the word 'Son' must have been substituted for some other word in the original. The second, he maintains, is the work of a Christian prophet living in a Hellenic community.¹

Certainly 'Son of God' was not used by Jesus as an equivalent for the title 'Messiah', as understood at least, by his Jewish contemporaries. Case tells us that not until the end of the first century A.D., and then only in one of the apocalyptic books (IV Ezra) does the expression 'Son' appear as a synonym for 'Messiah'.² "The epithet 'Son'", he adds, "implied exceptional equipment for duty of special commission or service. But it could hardly have occurred to anyone, much less could it have been a generally recognized interpretation, that the designation was an official messianic label." Guignebert supports this

1. cf. Guignebert, p. 263. 2. cf. S.J. Case, 'Jesus, A New Biography', p. 361.

evidence: "It now seems definitely established that there is not a single passage in Jewish literature giving the Messiah the title of the Son of God, which can with certainty be regarded as pre-Christian."¹

Taken in the orthodox sense the expression 'Son of God' would have seemed to any Jew of Jesus' own time, the most preposterous absurdity and the grossest blasphemy. We must therefore conclude that Jesus did not use the term Son of God as an equivalent for the title Messiah; nor was that term so used during his lifetime. But, "subsequently the disciples, viewing the earlier events in the light of their later ~~ex~~ experiences, believed that he had attained to a sense of divine sonship that meant identification of himself with the one whom God had promised to raise up in Israel to accomplish the deliverance of his people."² Thus it is that the term 'Son of God' came to mean the Messiah of Jewish expectation.

The appellation 'Son of Man' brings us face to face with the most involved and complicated of all the problems offered by the New Testament. In Hebrew lit-

1. Guignebert, Jesus, p. 261.

2. Case, p. 360.

erature it is synonymous with 'man' and rarely employed except poetically.¹ In Ezekiel where the term occurs ninety times, it has a somewhat deeper significance and may be interpreted as 'humanity' or mankind in general, i.e. Man. Daniel 8:17 gives us a similar impression. Even in the famous passage, Dan. 7:13, "Son of Man" means simply "a man", and represents not the Messiah as is commonly accepted, but the redeemed community. Thus we read "And I saw one in the likeness of a man", i.e. in human form.

In the Similitudes of Enoch, however, the phrase has come to denote a specific and mysterious Man, the Elect of God, a heavenly individual who would come on the clouds at the last day to preside over the Great Judgment and the New Age. But even if Jesus had been sufficiently familiar with Enoch to speak of the Son of Man in connection with the institution of the Kingdom, we are not at liberty to infer that he would apply the phrase to himself. Indeed it would still be very difficult if not impossible to imagine that he could have so designated himself.

1. cf. Num. 23:19; Isa. 51:12; 56:2; Jer. 49:18 and 33; 50:40; Ps. 8:5; 80:18, etc.

"It was far easier", once more to quote Prof. Case, "for Christians in the latter half of the first century to designate Jesus 'Son of Man' than it would have been for him in his own lifetime to so style himself."¹

Branscomb too lends his support: "That the title seems to have been unrelated in the earliest tradition of the Passion argues against Jesus having applied the title to Himself."² "It was the early Church after the resurrection which identified Jesus with the heavenly Son of Man."² Certainly it was not a regular appellation of the "Messiah amongst the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era."³

However that may be, the fact is that all four gospels permit Jesus to call himself by this title. It should be noted too that the term is always restricted to his own vocabulary. It would seem that the writers were not controlled simply by 'sources', but that they used the term 'Son of Man' because "fond of it on their own account"⁴. Nor do the words as used in the gospels always mean the same thing. Sometimes they stand for nothing more than the word 'I'.⁵ Sometimes, as for example Mark 8:38 they refer to the apocalyptic Messiah.

1. S.J. Case, 'Jesus, A New Biography', pp. 367-9.

2. B.H. Branscomb, "The Gospel of Mark", p. 147.

3. cf. Guignebert p. 273-4. 4. Case, p. 365ff.

5. cf. Lk. 12:8 and Mat. 10:32; also Mark 8:27 and parallels Mat. 16:13 and Luke 9:18.

In other places it seems plain that 'son of man' means simply 'man', as for example Mk. 2:28 and Mat. 12:31ff. Guignebert estimates that there are about forty passages in the Synoptics and twelve in John in which Son of Man definitely means Messiah.¹ It is found only once outside the Gospels (Acts 7:56)² where it is obviously an editorial insertion. It is significant that neither Paul nor the General Epistles use the term.

Guignebert concludes his study with these words: "Even though Jesus may have employed the expression 'Son of Man', there is not one passage to indicate that he used it as a special and characteristic designation of himself, nor in which it has any definite connection with a consciousness of his Messiahship. In short there is no use of it which cannot be interpreted in a way entirely different from the pseudo-Danielic 'Son of Man'."³ "The Evangelist's use of this expression", he continues, "is almost certainly nothing more than a pious error of the Gentile Christians, and does not belong to the apostolic times..... If Jesus used the term 'bar-nasha' it was only and could only be in the current sense of 'man', 'son of man'."⁴²

1. For a careful analysis of the Synoptic passages see Guignebert, pp. 275-8. 2. Guignebert, p. 279. 3. *ibid.* 278

We agree with Guignebert that Jesus did not use the term 'Son of Man' to represent the traditional Messiah. But is it not possible that he thought to change the traditional concept of Messiahship, and so used the old terminology as a screen^e on which to throw the new picture? Perhaps Jesus did use the term 'Son of Man' as synonymous with Messiah but sought to give to it a spiritual and ethical interpretation. This possibility Guignebert seems not even to consider. He is so busy flailing the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus that he misses altogether the God-consciousness of Jesus.

This brings us to the very heart of our problem. Did Jesus think himself to be the Messiah? A brief discussion of the 'Messianic Hope' will help in making that decision. It has already been pointed out that we can rightly evaluate the person of Jesus only from the total impression made on us by his life and teaching. Central in the life and teaching of Jesus is the idea of the Kingdom of God. His gospel is built around that idea.

As a matter of fact the conception of the Kingdom of God had for centuries before Jesus been central in the Hebrew religion. But for the pre-Christian Jew the Kingdom had a very definite meaning. Remember that the Jew had lived through centuries of bitter experience. His country, Palestine, was the cockpit of the Orient. It was surrounded by great nations whose clashing armies time and time again decided the fate of Palestine on the great plain of Esdraelon. Jewish history in the Old Testament is a tragic tale of national^a suffering at the hands of successive tyrants who sought to destroy the racial culture of their victims. The Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, the Romans - each of these names stand for successive persecutors of the Jew in the eight centuries before the birth of Jesus. It was a natural development of faith, then, that such people, driven to despair, humanly helpless, should conceive the hope of a great Day of the Lord when God in person or through his Messiah, His viceroy, would¹ step in and make His will effective. And by the

1. At first there seems to have been no idea of a personal Messiah or agent; Yahweh alone is the deliverer. Not until the first century B.C. does the idea of a personal Messiah come to the fore.

"will of God" the Jew meant simply a glorified Hebrew kingdom with political and spiritual headquarters in Jerusalem, from which the restored people of God would hold sway over their enemies. This popular conception of the kingdom is quite understandable. Every oppressed and conquered race has cherished in its heart the secret hope of a day, 'der Tag', when the tables would be turned. In the popular mind the messianic age was thus identified with the vengeful ambitions of the nation.

It was into this atmosphere supercharged with nationalist ambitions on the part of the Hebrew race, that Jesus was born. How could he fail to be reared in the hope of Israel? Is it any wonder that when both John the Baptist and Jesus preached that the Kingdom of God was at hand their words electrified the whole countryside? The nation flocked to see if at last the great Day of the Lord was about to dawn.

But something happened to the meaning of the Kingdom of God after the idea had passed through the mind of Jesus and had been fertilized by his spirit. It was no longer the kind of kingdom that his forefathers had looked for. The record of the temptation

of Jesus is simply the story of how Jesus sought to find a new meaning for the idea of the Kingdom of God. He knew with an unassailable certainty that God had set His hand upon him to fulfil the hopes of His people. The three temptations represent three possible ways in which public opinion expected the Kingdom to be fulfilled.¹ Jesus refused to identify his program of action with any of them. They were on a lower level than God's way as he had come to see it; so he rejected them. Then he spent the rest of his all-too-brief public career working out his program of the Kingdom in terms of the righteousness and the holiness of God. Perhaps it was Hosea's tender gospel of the power of redeeming love and Isaiah's picture of the suffering servant of the nation that influenced him more than anything else. He decided for a Kingdom of love that transcended all national boundaries and ambitions.

1. No definite portrait can be constructed of this 'Anointed One' of later Jewish thinking, but from the inter-Testament literature where reference is made to him, three general classifications have been made. These are the Davidic, Apocalyptic and Priestly Messiahs.

The teachings of Jesus lead one to believe that he had abandoned the idea of a sudden apocalyptic coming of the Kingdom. In his parables, for example, he deliberately teaches that the Kingdom of God is a gradual development of righteousness in the human heart. It is within us like a small seed in the ground, like the yeast hidden in the dough, working secretly until its growth is finally established, or like the yeast, gradually leavening the whole lump. His attitude to children further strengthens this point. Children have a very small place in the New Testament doubtless because it seemed improbable that they would have time to grow to manhood before the end of the world should come. The New Testament is impregnated with apocalypticism, and only with the fading of the apocalyptic hope did the early church give much attention to children. In his time Jesus was the only one with a kindly word for children. "Apart from the Gospels", Burkitt says, "I cannot find that early Christian literature exhibits the slightest sympathy towards the young.... In the words and actions of Jesus alone, as recorded in the synoptic gospels, and especially by Mark, do we find love and sympathy for children."

Jesus was by no means a prophet of gloom. He came to proclaim the 'good news' of God. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." (Luke 4:18 and 19). It was by such works that he bade the messengers of John the Baptist judge of his vocation. It is strange too that if Jesus believed in the speedy coming of the Kingdom that his commands took the form they did. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth..... etc." Why? Not because the end is near but because where men's treasure is, their heart is also. (Mat. 6:19 and 21). Similarly he says "Be not anxious about the body.. etc.", again not because the end is near but because worry is distrust in God. Neither does he say "Be ye perfect because the Day of Judgment is at hand", but "Be ye perfect because the Father is perfect." Thus we are led to say with Rufus Jones, "The closer we press to the actual life and the very words themselves which He spoke, the less we find of material which related Him to or links Him up with the popular hopes and expectat-

ions of the time, and the more He stands forth as a unique revelation of God's love and tenderness and as the Teacher of a moral and spiritual way of life,
¹
here and now....."

And yet in the New Testament we find words placed in the mouth of Jesus which imply that he looked for a coming Kingdom in terms of the Old Testament Apocalyptic hope. In the Synoptics he is reported to have said that this expected Kingdom would come during the lifetime of those who were listening to his words.
²
However it is now generally recognized by New Testament scholars that Apocalyptic passages in the Synoptics referring to Jesus in his sojourn on earth are a projection of a later period, subsequent to the crucifixion into an earlier. 1 Thess.4:15 is sometimes taken to support the apocalyptic view: "This we say unto you by the word of the Lord... the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God." But in all probability 'Lord' here means Yahweh as elsewhere in Paul. In any case Jesus certainly does not think of himself as doing the job.

1. R.M.Jones, The Church's Debt to Heretics, p. 19.
2. cf. Mark 13:30, Mat. 24:34 and Luke 21:32.

Jesus, we believe, was much too sane in his daily life and thought to be swept off his feet by current expectations of some divine catastrophe.

We have attempted to show that in his lifetime Jesus walked with firm step upon this earth. We do not claim that the argument is conclusive that he did not hold the messianic hope of his contemporaries, but we do claim to have shown that he was not greatly concerned with it. Jesus may have believed in a coming messianic kingdom, but it is altogether improbable that he could think of himself as being its inaugurator. How could he think of himself as pre-existent or supernatural? He had lived a human life in his home in Galilee.

As a matter of fact the only role open for Jesus during his lifetime was that of the Davidic¹ Messiah. But the term 'Son of David' is a vestigium of an earlier period. The Synoptics do speak of Jesus as the 'Son of David', and as having come from David's city Bethlehem, but in so doing they reflect the earlier situation prior to the crucifixion. Not a single passage of our Gospels puts this title in the mouth of Jesus. Furthermore it was neither bestowed

1. They could not claim Priestly Messiahship for Jesus in spite of Heb.5:6,10, and 6:20.

upon him by his disciples nor contested by his adversaries. As against this position the story of the 'triumphal entry' is often quoted, but it is important to note that, in the Marcan account of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (Mk.11:10), it is "the coming kingdom of our father David" and not "the Son of David" which is spoken of.

We may go further still and assert that Jesus, far from assuming the status and title of Son of David, definitely depudiated them. We read in Mark 12:35-7: "And beginning to speak, Jesus said, teaching in the Temple: 'Why do the scribes say that Christ will be the Son of David? David himself said to the Holy Ghost: the Lord said to my Lord (that is to say, God said to the Messiah), 'Sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool'. David therefore himself called him Lord, and whence is he then his son?" We close, therefore, with the words of Guignebert: "It is impossible to base any conclusion regarding the Messiahship of Jesus on this supposed title of Son of David." (Guignebert, p. 270).

Stated negatively, our conclusion in regard to the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus is this: that Jesus never claimed to be the traditional Jewish Messiah in any of his characterizations. Even so

conservative a scholar as Branscomb admits that
"there is no dependable record that Jesus claimed to
be the Messiah."¹ The idea of himself as Messiah
probably never entered Jesus' mind.

Jesus was not concerned with messianic self-
interpretation. His energies were consecrated to the
task of preparing his fellow Jews for membership in
the Kingdom. As S.J. Case has pointed out "No true
prophet was ever an adorable hero to himself, however
ardently he might be admired by his disciples. He
was God's man and had no time or taste for vaunting
self-esteem. Self-abasement was the only garment that
he wore with becoming² grace." And yet, on the other
hand, James Stewart in his valuable book "A Man in
Christ", makes the statement that "Jesus was never
anything else but central in his own religion."³

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1. B.H. Branscomb, "The Gospel of Mark", p. 151.
Note also Guignebert p. 290: "The primitive tradition did not attribute the proclamation of his Messiahship either to Jesus or to his disciples during his lifetime."
 2. S.J. Case, 'Jesus, A New Biography', p. 378.
 3. James S. Stewart, "A Man in Christ", p. 297.

On the contrary Jesus was never central; God always was. "Jesus was not concerned to make 'claims' for Himself." says Cave, "It was God and God's Kingdom that he preached."¹ "His concern was with God", says Raven,² "not with His own claim to divinity." Far from making himself central his earthly career was marked by traits of lowliness and of great humility.

But while Jesus was not altogether 'absorbed' in himself, none the less, like the greatest and the humblest of us, he had to face the problem of his own vocation, to work out his own salvation and that of his people in harmony with the will of God as he had come to know it. Perhaps it was mainly along the lines of a vivid consciousness of God's Fatherhood, which he found to be dim or non-existent in his fellow-men, that he approached the problem of his life ~~and~~ work. The words which he uttered in Gethsemane summarize his attitude towards his chosen vocation: "Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt." Jesus enjoyed a unique relationship with God.

1. S. Cave, The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, p.11.
2. Raven. p. 426.

He walked with the firm step of a son in his Father's house. 'He felt himself entirely permeated by the Spirit of God and guided by His will.'¹ His communion with God was unbroken and he seems not to have known the chagrin of living at less than his best. Thus far we seem to be in entire agreement with Cave when he says "It was a Messiahship to be interpreted primarily through His filial consciousness of God, and His conception of the work which God had given Him to do."², except that where Cave uses the term Messiahship we prefer to use the term vocation, mission or life-~~xxx~~ purpose. It may be, as we have already suggested in connection with the term 'Son of man' that Jesus meant to change the concept of Messiahship so as to give it a new meaning, but on the other hand it is just as reasonable to believe that the idea of himself as Messiah never occurred to him. 'Whichever view one takes it cannot be denied that Jesus was supremely conscious of a great purpose in life: his objective was a Kingdom of Love, his task a mission of service and sacrifice, not of ease and glory. "With Him, as with no other man, vocation and personality were inextricably united. His personality was determined by His

1. Guignebert, p. 266.

2. Cave, p. 24.

filial relationship to God, and that personality found
expression in his vocation."¹ "He knew Himself to
have been chosen of God for this work of redeeming
Israel's lost sheep, and he knew also that his suffer-
ing and death were a divinely appointed part of
this work of redemption."²

1. Cave, p. 20.

2. John Baillie, The Place of Jesus Christ in Modern
Christianity, p. 98.

CHAPTER 2.

PAUL AND THE PRIMITIVE TRADITION.

Paul's Christology and that of the primitive Christian group may be linked together for two reasons. In the first place our earliest reference to this group is found in Paul.¹ And in the second place Paul's Christology does not differ largely from that of the early church.

From the primitive Christians Paul had received (among other things) the story of the life of Jesus, and in all probability he got a better understanding of Jesus than those who passed it on. (Paul was intellectually prepared to understand Jesus more fully than they were.) At any rate, so far as we know, there never was any disagreement between the primitive Christian community and Paul on the ground of Christology.²

"Men who dissented violently with his interpretation of the Law found no difficulty in his conception of the Saviour."³ At the Council of Jerusalem Paul was given the right hand of fellowship by James, John and Peter.⁴ So the legitimacy of his preaching was endorsed.

1. C. Jackson in "Environmental Factors in Christian History", p. 41.

2. James Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 294.

3. H.R. Mackintosh, "The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ", p. 74.

4. cf. Acts 15 and Gal. 5.

In his ministry Paul was associated with members of the Jerusalem Church - Barnabas and Silas; in his letters he is recognized by the older apostles; he wrote to churches which he did not found - Rome and Colossai. So that consciously at least he did not diverge from the church before him. True, he did seek to break new ground, but between his doctrine of Christ and that of the primitive church he seems to have made no distinction. "No doubt Paul, in the course of long and deep reflection on the mystery of Christ, has gone beyond those comparatively rudimentary positions of the primitive community; he has done this, for example, in his doctrine of pre-existence and of Christ's place as agent in the work of creation. But the circumstance that his Christology stood unchallenged means that nothing in it was felt to be alien to the fundamental tenets of the church."¹ We may conclude ~~that~~ then, that subject only to modification by his own mind and personality, Paul's Christology was that of the primitive church. Along with them he came to believe that Jesus was the Messiah.

1. Stewart, "A Man in Christ", pp. 295-6.

Of all the characterizations at hand among that Jewish community which might have been used to evaluate the person of Jesus, the term "Messiah" seems to have been most popular. The earliest disciples, as the late Prof. Jackson has pointed out, were Jews. "The estimate", he writes, "which these primitive Christians formed of their fellow-Jew who had become central in their religious life, was expressed by the Jewish term 'Messiah', i.e. 'anointed'." "For centuries", he continues, "this word had been gathering up into itself the hopes and ideals of this proud people."¹ Paul accepted the primitive Christians' characterization of Jesus as Messiah - but as with them the title called up no unified or standard portrait.

In Rom. 1:4 it would seem that Paul accepted the belief in Davidic "messiahship". No doubt he does accept it 'formally' (as some of us could be said to believe in the doctrine of original sin), but it is highly improbable that he could think of Jesus as the great military leader that David had been. The death of Jesus had killed the Davidic-Messiah, and after the crucifixion the apocalyptic concept took the field.

1. Environmental Factors, p. 35.

The title as used by Paul in Rom. 1:4 is given an ideal rather than a literal meaning. It has "drawn to itself all the desirable qualities of the many idealizations of the inter-testament Jewish writers."¹ Actually, then, this reference to the 'seed of David' carries no association with the Davidic Messiah.

It was from the primitive church as well that Paul received his apocalypticism. The influence of this on his conception of Jesus is undeniable. Some scholars (e.g. Schweitzer) have maintained that apocalyptic detail is basic in Paul. In 1911 Prof. E.F. Scott supported this view, but more recently, (1931) he has changed his position. Jesus, he says was not a fanatical dreamer. Much of the apocalyptic passages of the gospels he believes was read back into the life and teachings of Jesus by the later Christian Church. Certainly there are many passages in his letters which show that Paul had accepted the apocalyptic interpretation of Jesus as Messiah.²

Jewish apocalypticism however, is not the central or controlling factor in his Christology. Other aspects contributed to the picture. "New traits

1. Environmental Factors, p. 39. 2. cf. C. Jackson, Hellenization of Christian Messianism, 1923, an unpublished thesis in the University of Chicago Libraries.

appear in the picture which Paul drew of the "messiah; these new aspects take precedence over Paul's inherited conception of the "messiah."¹ The features in Paul's new Messiah portrait which are basic are "those which come from the life of Jesus". Environment alone will not account for Christianity, since in Paul's own words "If any man be in Christ there is a new creation" (Moffatt). That which was new in this case was the life and teaching of Jesus.

From his experience of the life and person and teaching of Jesus Paul enlarged the current ideas of the "messiah. We can do no better than to quote Prof. Jackson again on this point: "Jesus had lived humbly the life of a Galilean itinerant preacher; after his crucifixion his disciples came to think of him as risen, at God's right hand: when Paul applied the epithet 'Messiah' to this Jesus, something had happened to his conception of Messiah. Jesus had come to be for Paul a charismatic personality, in Otto's phrase, i.e. a religious and moral genius; in him Paul saw the realization of his peoples' dreams of messianic succor: the realization was quite unlike the dream, and the title inadequate; but no other near-adequate category seemed at hand."¹ That Paul knew

1. Environmental Factors, p. 46.

the story of Jesus' life and teaching is amply demonstrated in the same essay, and the inference is inescapable that he actually taught the life of Jesus to his disciples.

What are some of these characteristic qualities of Jesus found in Paul's new picture of the Messiah? Sinlessness¹ had already been postulated in the Apocalyptic Messiah, but now it had been realized in One "in the likeness of the flesh of sin".² The quality of gentleness and meekness³ was hitherto a trait proper to slaves; humility⁴, forgetfulness of self⁵, and capacity for love⁶ are not hinted at in apocalyptic literature. Obedience to Yahweh⁷ is a new ideal not hinted at in the concept of the heavenly Messiah. Paul's Christ was universal, concerned not with a new Israel but with a new humanity. "All the local, national and material ideas which Jewish Messianism has developed so strongly were completely transcended."⁸ No racial limits, no traditional categories could hold Paul's Redeemer.

1. 2 Cor. 5:21. 2. Rom. 8:3. 3. 2 Cor. 10:1 and Phil. 2:7,8. 4. Phil. 2:6.
5. 2 Cor. 8:9; Rom.15:1-3.
6. Rom. 8:37; 1 Cor.16:22; 2 Cor.5:14.
7. Phil.2:7,8; Rom.5:13 and 15:3; 2 Cor.8:9.
8. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 299.

His meaning, his message, his mission, were universal.

The net upshot of Jesus' life upon Paul was that there was a way of living worthy and capable of imitation. "Be ye imitators of me as I am of Christ."¹ Here was a conception of God which had brought Paul an emancipation he had never known under the Law.

Jesus, for Paul, is "not the Messiah of Jewish dogmatic but the suffering, triumphant, ever-living Messiah of God."² But he is more than this; he is also the Jesus of history. The problem still remained for Paul

~~xxxxxxxThe problem still remained, however, for Paul~~
to rationalize this fact of experience, to find a place for this Jesus of history alongside the Messiah of his inherited Jewish hopes. For Paul, monotheist as he is, the Messiah is a person to be loved.³ He prays⁴ to him⁵ and places him alongside Yahweh. Prof. Jackson points out that "he often^{te} uses the same expression⁶ for what God has done and what Christ has done."

"Sometimes", he says, "it is impossible to say⁷ whether Paul's Kyrios is Yahweh or Jesus; sometimes that most intimate relationship is oddly expressed,

1. 2 Cor.11:1. 2. Stewart, p. 301.
3. 1 Cor.2:9; 16:22. 4. 2 Cor.12:8; 5. 1 Thess.1:1.
6. 1 Cor.15:10 & 2 Cor.12:9; also Rom.15:15ff. & 5:11.
7. Rom.14:6-9,14.

'if God's spirit dwells in you'¹, 'if anyone has not the spirit of Christ'². A prayer to God is also addressed to Jesus Christ.³ He called Jesus by the title for Yahweh in his Greek Bible - Kyrios, as others gave Serapis or the Emperor Nero the same title."⁴ Nowhere does he call Jesus God, but nevertheless for him Jesus has the value and functions of God. Theologically, however, Paul does subordinate Jesus to God in the form of sonship.⁵

Paul's most-loved name for Jesus, however, was not Messiah, but Lord. The background for Paul's use of this term is to be sought, not as Bousset suggested⁶ in the pagan mystery cults, but in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.⁷ The name Lord was being given to Jesus by the primitive community before the gentile mission had been inaugurated.⁸ The Aramaic 'Marana tha' (1 Cor.16:22) is proof of this.

1. Rom.8:9. 2. Rom.8:39. 3. 1 Thess.3:11.

4. Environmental Factors, pp.48-9.

5. Rom.15:5; 1 Cor.15:24ff. cf. also Stewart, p.304-6.

6. cf. Bousset, Kyrios Christos.

7. cf. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp. 47,73 and 301.

8. Acts 2:36; also cf. Cave p. 33.

The great Psalm beginning "The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit thou at my right hand" was already being interpreted in a messianic and Christian sense.¹ Yahweh in the Hebrew Scriptures had become Kyrios in the Greek translation: the phrase 'Christos Kyrios' was the Septuagint rendering of 'The Lord's Anointed'.²

This phrase occurs also in the Psalms of Solomon, a Pharisaic work of the first century B.C.: "They are all holy, and their king is 'Christos Kyrios'".³

A.D. Nock also supports the Hebrew origin of the term Kyrios. "The nuance of Kyrios", he says, "depends on the person or God to whom it is applied; it can be a mere courtesy title like 'Master' in English."⁴

"The use has probably in origin nothing whatsoever to do with the description of heathen deities or the Emperor as Kyrios."⁵

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1. Acts 2:34 2. Lam.4:20. 3. 17:36.
 4. Early Gentile Christianity, in 'Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation', ed. Rawlinson, p.87.
 5. ibid. p. 85.

Paul's use of the title Lord went deeper than that of the primitive church. In fact it ceased altogether to be a title and as Stewart says, "had become the most sacred expression of a personal devotion stronger than death."¹ This Jesus whom the Jews had crucified, God had made "both Lord and Christ."² In practice, then, Paul does not distinguish between the 'Lord' Jesus and God. Functionally Jesus is God, for "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."³ Often the two names are linked together as in Rom.1:7, "Grace to you, and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ." The church of the Thessalonians is "in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ." In the Trinitarian benediction "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ" is correlated to "the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost."⁴ Paul refers to Jesus along with God as creator of the universe: "There is one God, the Father, from whom all comes, and from whom we exist; one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom all exists, and by whom we exist."⁵ "The Son might be subordinate to the Father; yet in the deepest sense of all, Father and Son are one - and one not only in mind and will, but in nature and eternal being."⁶

1. Stewart, p. 302.

3. Col.2:9; 1:19.

5. 1 Cor.8:6; cf. also Col.1:16.

2. Acts 2:14-36.

4. 2 Cor.13:14.

6. Stewart, p.307.

The dilemma introduced by Paul's acknowledgment of Jesus as Messiah was only resolved by his recourse to pre-existence, a characterization borrowed from Jewish messianism.¹ For Paul Jesus was the Messiah from eternity.² He was 'declared' the Messiah by the resurrection.³ Prior to his earthly sojourn he was 'in the form (or likeness) of God', i.e., having a spiritual nature; nevertheless he "emptied himself" and became in the likeness of a man.⁴ At the resurrection he again becomes 'Ho Christos'. Here we have what is really the 'Logos' Christology without the 'Word'.

To deny the Logos to Paul, as Dr. Jackson has pointed out, is only to postpone the solution which the church did adopt. "It seems more likely", he says, "that Paul himself attempted the solution than that the canon-making church has interpolated into Philippians from Marcion."⁵

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1. cf. 1 Enoch, 48:2 and 4 Ezra 13:26.
 2. Phil.2:6-10; Rom.8:3; 2Cor.8:9; Gal.4:4. 3. Rom.1:4.
 4. Phil.2:6-8. For a discussion of pre-existence in Paul see the article by C.Jackson in "Environmental factors in Christian history", Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939, pp.50-2. Col.1:15-17 and Phil.2:6-11 are set forth as definitely Pauline, a position contrary to that held by F.C.Porter and E.Barnikol.
 5. Environmental Factors, p. 52.

CHAPTER 3THE LOGOS INTERPRETATION AND THE PATRISTICS.

With the formulation of the Logos Christology we enter the first great speculative stage of Christian thought. The Logos had already had a long history both among Greek and Hebrew thinkers before it was taken over by John and the early apologists. In the early use of the word Logos meant God - God thought of as intelligence, rationality and purpose. Heraclitus first used it about 500 B.C. and the Stoics took it over from him. According to Heraclitus the Logos is the intelligent "steering power" in the world akin to the reasoning faculty in man. The Stoics too thought of the Logos as divine Reason, purely immanent and impersonal, "a rational Soul vitalizing and guiding all that is."¹ But as the tendency towards ~~the~~ dualism increased, and God came to be thought of as Absolute, withdrawn from all earthly contact, an intermediary became necessary between God and the world. The Logos came to have this meaning.

Among Hebrew writers the Word or Wisdom had a prominent place. In the Wisdom literature it is personified and creative, an independent spiritual entity whose function was to establish communication between God and the world. Philo attempted to combine the Greek and Hebrew conceptions. He speaks of the Logos as a sort of second God, the mediator between God and man, the first-born creature and the organ of creation and providence.

1. R.M.Jones, The Church's Debt to Heretics, p. 64.

"For Him", says Rufus Jones, "the Logos becomes the sacred name for all of God that can be revealed and manifested. The Logos is God's expression, His utterance of Himself, His Word. Logos is wisdom, intelligence, mind, thought, will-purpose. Logos stands for God in all his outgoing, creative, revealing activities. He is the divine Agent, the Image of God, the first-born Son of God, sometimes called by Philo and by later writers deuterios theos - 'the second God'.¹" The three functions performed by Philo's Logos were those of creation, revelation and redemption. However, at no point is the Logos identified with the Messiah.

The fourth Gospel in its opening words identifies the historic Jesus with the creative Logos. The writer, we believe, makes use of current philosophy to make intelligible and attractive to his readers, his own conception of Jesus. But John starts with the historical figure of Jesus. The Logos, he says, is Christ. The Logos 'became flesh'. Philo's Logos we note could never have become flesh. It may be that John's Logos is distinct altogether from Philo's, as Mackintosh believes, but at any rate we must note several differences between the two. In the first place John's Logos is fully personal and historical whereas some scholars deny altogether that Philo thought of the Logos as being in any sense a person.²

1. R.M.Jones, The Church's Debt to Heretics, p. 64ff.
2. cf. Drummond, Philo Judaeus, 2, pp.156-273.

John's Logos is 'soteriological and ethical; it places considerably more stress on the redemptive than on the creative function. And finally, the Logos as Reason is subordinated to the Logos as Wisdom or Word. It is the expression of God's will and power, the outgoing of His life, His light and His love. The colour and significance of John's Logos are drawn from the writer's own experience of the life and teaching of Jesus. He believes that it is the Divine desire to impart life to a perishing and darkened world.

The Apologists and their successors boldly followed the lead of the fourth Gospel in its use of the Logos concept. Like other educated men of their time they thought of God as self-existent, infinite, and immutable, eternal and incomprehensible. He could be known to men only through revelations or manifestations of himself. The Logos, they believed, was the supreme revelation of God. This was identified as in the fourth Gospel with Christ, and as with Paul, the Logos before his incarnation was pre-existent.

The earliest Christian apologies extant are the writings of Justin Martyr (114-165 A.D.). Justin's Logos is a second God, created yet eternal and divine, appointed Creator by the will of God having been eternally immanent as a principle in God, "being of old the Logos"¹, existing wholly in Christ, though only partially in man. The inner nature of the Son is

1. 1 Apol. 63 (p. 184).

identical with that of the Father, and in the production of the Son God was not Himself changed - "begotten from the Father by His power and will, but not by abscission, as if the essence of the Father were divided."¹ Numerically distinct from the Father he is yet one with Him in will.² The "first power after God the Father and Lord of all is the Word, who is also the Son"³; and the Word "took flesh and became man". The power of God 'overshadowed' Mary, so that she conceived and bare Jesus, the Logos.³ "Finite in His own being, since there was a time when He began to be, He forms the natural organ of revelation to the finite."⁴ He is the mediator between a finite world and an abstract and transcendent God. As such he has appeared in Christ not just in part as in the Old Testament prophets, but completely, becoming, as Justin ~~xx~~ says, the 'whole logos'.⁵ "He is innate in all, and in Him all participate"⁶, yet He alone⁷ is properly to be called Son.

It will readily be seen that Justin has little interest in the historic Jesus. He finds in Christ not so much a Redeemer as the teacher of a perfect philosophy. Christ is not one with God. He is another God, inferior to the highest God. The interpretation of Jesus as Logos did not solve

1. Dialogue with Trypho, 128 (p.264). 2. ibid. 56. (p.224).
3. 1 Apol. 32-3. 4. Mackintosh, Doct. of Person of J.C., p.141.
5. 2 Apol.10. 6. 2 Apol. 13. 7. 2 Apol. 6.

the problem of his relation to God, yet it has value, as Mackintosh says, "as testifying to the profound impression made by Christ on a mind determined to be philosophic¹ than as a reasoned Christological scheme."

Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, gives us our first complete outline of Christian theology. As Logos, he believed that God had always been manifested in the world, first through the prophets and finally in Jesus Christ. "Through the Word Himself, who had been made visible and palpable, was the Father shown forth; all saw the Father in the Son: for the Father is the invisible of the Son, but the Son the visible of the Father."² Irenaeus thus identifies God with Jesus Christ the Son of God who became incarnate for our salvation. "Christ is the Logos in human guise, with an eternal personal pre-existence³ lying behind his earthly career." But since no one understands how the Son was brought forth by the Father it is fruitless to build up theories of his origin. To Irenaeus the pre-historic Christ is unbegotten. The Logos is not a portion of the Godhead, much less a second inferior God, but God Himself breaking forth in revelation and revealing his true nature of love. In His incarnation is men's redemption. To effect redemption God has inoculated sinful and doomed humanity with the immortal antitoxin of deity. Jesus Christ, the Saviour, is

1. Mackintosh, p. 142.

2. Against Heresies, 4:6:6; cf. also 4:4:2 and 4:20:5.

3. Mackintosh, p. 145.

thus identified completely with the flesh of mankind. He
"was made a man among men, that He might join the end to
the beginning, that is, man to God."¹ "Through His trans-
cendent love" he became "what we are, that He might bring us
to be even what He is Himself."²

As with Justin the Logos is regarded as the Creator of
the universe. Irenaeus insists "that it is one and the same
person - Jesus Christ- the Logos - the Son of God - who
created the world, was born as man, and suffered and ~~rose~~
ascended to heaven, still man as well as God."³ In his own
words it is "the Word of God... who is our Lord Jesus Christ,
by whom all things were made."⁴

In Irenaeus also we have the Rule of Faith, a form-
ulation of the basis for the so-called Apostles' Creed.⁵
On the whole, then, we must admit that the church owes an
immeasurable debt to Irenaeus. Harnack, who is not sym-
pathetic to Greek theology & (which Irenaeus represents),
remarks of him that he was "the first to whom Jesus Christ,
God and man, is the centre of history and faith."⁶

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1. Against Heresies, 4:20:4.
 2. ibid. preface to fifth book.
 3. Bethune-Baker, quoted by Mackintosh, p. 147.
 4. Against Heresies, 3:8:2 (p. 421).
 5. ibid. 1:10:1.
 6. History of Dogma 2, p. 243.

Tertullian goes considerably farther than the early Apologists did. The Logos being first existent in God issued forth from God as Son by generation before the creation of the universe - of the same substance as God but invested with independent being. "He proceeds forth from God, and in that procession He is generated; so that He is the Son of God, and is called God from the unity of substance with God."¹ But Tertullian insists that though the Son was pre-existent, yet "there was a time when He was not."²

The pre-existent Logos or Son assumed flesh for our salvation, born "to a certain virgin", "made flesh in her womb", prompted by God's redeeming love, God and man are united, the divine and the human, spirit and flesh, brought together in one person. Although conjoined in Christ's one person these two substances of flesh and spirit act independently and by themselves, each according to its own character.³ Tertullian makes a sharp distinction between God and the Logos through his insistence that Father and Son are two separate persons. He attempts to avoid the dualism which threatens to dissolve the union of God and man in Christ by stressing the eternal nature of that union.

Creation, regarded as an essential part of the revelation of God, is the work of Christ the Logos. This however is no obstacle to the monarchy of God. Although of the same substance, the Son is considered as subordinate to the Father in whom alone resides the fulness of deity.⁴

1. Apology, Vol. 3, Ch. 21, p. 34.
3. Ibid. 27.

2. Against Praxeas 2.

4. Ibid. 9; cf. Mackintosh 154-5.

Tertullian used categories which later had a great influence in the ecclesiastical statement of the doctrine of the Trinity. There was one substance but three persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost - differing in degree, form and aspect - a Trinity in unity.¹ In spite of the hampering inadequacies of the Logos conception Tertullian provided the church with a vocabulary in which to express the relation of the Son to the Trinity, and of the divine to the human in the incarnate life.

Rufus Jones gives us a very comprehensive picture of the Logos of the Apologists. "He was pre-existent before his incarnation..... He is the divine Agent, the active Reason, the operative Power of God. He is sprung from, or begotten by God, and yet is an absolute unity with God. He is person-alised as Christ and yet in all His activities He is identical with God. He creates; He reveals; He mediates between the infinite and the finite. He is first-born and only Son; He is 'second God', i.e., God as He is revealed."² Such a review more than half inclines one to acquiesce in Loof's verdict. Somehow we cannot help but feel that this falls short of the genuinely Christian estimate of Christ. As Jones has so well expressed it, "a vague and shadowy Being, far removed from human contacts was taking the place of the tender and friendly Person who had come to show men the Father."³

1. Against Praxeas, 3 and 13.

2. The Church's Debt to Heretics, p. 66. 3. ibid. p. 68.

Clement of Alexandria sought to incorporate into the new faith all that was best in Hellenic culture. He rescued intellectualism from degradation by Gnostic heretics and made it a legitimate possession of the church. Christ, the Logos, he insists is the best and highest revelation of God. It is through the eternal Word that all revelation comes since God is unknowable and transcendent.¹ There is an essential unity between Father and Son, as stated for example in these words : "the unbegotten and indestructible and the only true God, the Word of God... this Jesus who is eternal..."² Yet it is generally recognized that the Son is also a distinct hypostasis.

But Clement asserts the true humanity of Christ as well as his divinity: "He became man that man might become God."³ and he speaks of Christ as "a God in human form".⁴ The Logos is the Revealer, first in the Creation in which He Himself takes part. He imparts 'seeds' of reason to all mankind and finally becomes incarnate in Christ to become the Educator of his fellows to lead them into his own perfect state. The motive of this whole divine activity, as Raven points out, is love, although it would seem to be a love which is coldly intellectual since Christ Himself, (i.e. God) is thought of as 'impassible and apathetic' -

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1. Miscellanies, 5:11. 2. Exhortation to the Heathen, Ch.12.
 3. Protr. 1. (Vol. 2, p. 205.)
 4. Paed. 1:99. cf. also Protr. 10:110 - "Assuming the character of man, and having been fashioned in flesh, He enacted the drama of human salvation."

unconcerned, unfeeling, inaccessible to any movement of feeling, either pleasure or pain.¹ The God he reveals is a philosopher's God, not the loving Father of the New Testament. Not only that, but the incarnation of the Word is incomplete; his humanity is half unreal. His body is superior to physical needs; he knew no pain or grief or emotion and had no need to learn.¹

The greatest of the Alexandrian School, however, and the first thoroughgoing systematic theologian of Christendom was Origen. For him, as for Clement, God is an absolute Being - eternal, unchangeable, indivisible, incorporeal, incomprehensible, self-conscious Mind. He it is who had revealed himself partially in Nature and in the Old Testament prophets, but who had become fully manifested in Christ the Logos or Son through whom the world was made. In that incarnation the Logos of God had expressed all of the divine nature that can be expressed in the limitations of space and time. As against Tertullian he insists that the Logos never at any time began to be. He is co-eternal with the Father and is eternally begotten by Him. Thus it is that the creative Logos, the consciousness and activity of God becomes manifest and explicit in the incarnation; but he existed prior to it.

Origen ~~xi~~ differs from the Apologists in that the Logos does not 'become' man, but rather 'unites with' man

1. Miscellanies, 6:9.

to become a 'God-man'. "In the incarnation", to quote Rufus Jones, "the eternal Logos was united with an absolutely pure and sinless soul, and with a body equally pure and perfect, ~~so~~ so that God's real Nature radiated and shone through him unhindered. He was 'the God-man'¹"

As Son, the Logos proceeds from the Father not by way of partition but by eternal generation. In the process God is not divided but remains a perfect unity. Although the Son is numerically distinct from the Father, they are in substance absolutely one - one substance (ousios) but two 'hypostaseis'.

In regard to his doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Origen is an unwavering Unitarian. He always thinks of the Holy Spirit as co-equal and co-eternal with the Father and the Son. In spite of this, however, Origen has a tendency to make Christ subordinate to the Father, a tendency which provides the real basis of the Arian controversy. Origen holds that Christ is 'theos', i.e. divinity, but God is 'ho theos' which is essential deity. He speaks of Christ as a 'ktisma' (creature), and "the most ancient of all the works of creation."² The Son is a 'second' God,³ but not immutably or intrinsically good as the Father is; He is an Image receiving honour second only to God - "the stainless mirror of God's working."⁴ In addition to this

1. The Church's Debt to Heretics, p.88. 2. Contra Celsus 5:37.
3. ibid. 5:39. 4. De Principiis 1:11:5 (Vol.4, p. 246.)

the Father's will is wiser than the Son's, and at Creation¹
the Son was the Father's servant executing his commands.

Origen's philosophy is strongly redemptive and wholly Christ-centred. Jesus is the instrument of salvation but it is his life not his death that saves. For him as for Clement Christ is the Teacher.

It must be admitted that Origen rendered a great service to the church of his time. He made Christianity intelligent and attractive to educated men and helped destroy the pagan thought forms of Gnosticism. Christian thought after Origen never again reached so high a level. But nevertheless his Christology was not all gain. His emphasis on co-eternity and subordination sowed the seeds for further trouble. Then too, the humanity of this God-man is hardly satisfactory. "It is of ethereal purity and celestially fair, with a glorious brightness that shone forth even upon earth and was manifested completely after death."² The very humanity of Jesus is itself deified.

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1. For further evidence of Christ's subordination see Mackintosh p. 166.
 2. Mackintosh, p. 167.

Origen's teaching on the co-eternity of the Son was taken over by Athanasius and emphasized as against the great Alexandrian's teaching on the Son's inferiority. Athanasius insists on the unity of substance of Christ and God. The Son is identical in nature and essence with the Father. He is therefore eternal, not created but 'begotten', which is to say that the Son participates in the whole essence of the Father. Athanasius saw clearly that if Christ is only a creature, then he is not truly God; neither can he reveal God to us, nor have any part in God's plan of redemption for us. And herein lies Athanasius' chief contribution. Only God Himself could save the sinner; a demi-god could not serve. Jesus was the Saviour. Therefore he must be fully divine. In the person of Jesus Christ God Himself has entered into human history in order that He might conquer sin and death. In His infinite love "the immortal Word took human flesh and gave His mortal body for us all."¹ "He was made man that we might be made God; and He manifested Himself by a body that we might receive the idea of the unseen Father."² Christ is literally a God-man and the humanity of Jesus tends to be obscured. Raven is well within the truth when he says "Jesus has faded and become a luminous ghost, radiant still but no longer of this world."³

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1. Gwatkin, Arian Controversy 10, quoted by Mackintosh p.184.
 2. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Incarnation of the Word, Vol.4 (Sec. 54:3).
 3. Raven, Jesus and the Gospel of Love, p. 346.

Over against this right-wing school of Origen was Arius who emphasized the subordination of the Son to the one eternal essential and indivisible divine Being - a transcendent God who cannot be revealed or made known to man. Christ, on the other hand was a created being, the first to be created - 'before the worlds'. Since the Father is indivisible Christ is not begotten from the Father but created by God out of nothing. God was one and changeless; the Son became flesh and was therefore capable of change; therefore the Son is essentially inferior to the Father.

Nevertheless this Christ or Logos of God was the instrument of creation, separate from God and substantially different from Him. He is morally changeable, and like ourselves, is equipped, in part at least, with freedom of will. Yet, being created by the Father, Christ must be subordinate to Him.

One of the chief objections to this Christology is that the Son did not have a human soul; the Logos took the place in him of a soul. Christ, accordingly is neither God nor man and cannot reveal for us the nature of either. Through the excellence of his life, it is true, Christ did achieve Sonship, thus becoming worthy of worship and divine honours, but the nature of God himself still remains unknown. In attempting to safeguard the unity of God, Arius has sacrificed both the humanity and the deity of Christ.

Schultz has pronounced the Arian controversy to be "inwardly the least stable and dogmatically the most worthless of all the Christologies to be met with in history."¹ "Few", says Mackintosh, "will question the justice of this verdict."

It was at the Council of Nicaea that a solution to the Arian controversy was attempted. The Council asserted the ~~an~~ unity of the Godhead and the essential divinity of the Son. At the same time it rejected pure transcendentalism. God was creator of the universe and the Son was made man; yet the humanity of Jesus was completely overshadowed by his divinity. Still, we may say with Mackintosh, that 'Nicaea is a position gained once for all.'², and as Canon Raven says it did preserve the fundamentals of the faith at a time when they might easily have been abandoned.

Following Nicaea Christian thinkers were more concerned to anathematize heresy than to interpret truth. Theology strove to vindicate existing conclusions. Heresy-hunting became a favorite occupation and Christian scholars lived in fear that their conclusions might render them liable to excommunication, banishment or persecution. However there is one other school of thought which should at least be indicated before leaving this period of church history. That is the school of Antioch.

1. quoted by Mackintosh, p.178. 2. Mackintosh, p. 292.

This group of thinkers laid stress on the reality of Christ's humanity. At the same time, however, they retained the orthodox position of the Nicene Creed by asserting the existence of Christ in two natures, one divine, the other human. They saw in Christ not so much the God-man as simply a man whom God had inspired. This position seemed to minimize the true divinity of Jesus. No longer was his a unique revelation. The Chalcedonian Council, which sought to end the controversy about the nature of Jesus Christ proved to be no solution at all but merely a preservation of the problem. Jesus Christ was a God-man who in his one person combined the two natures of God and man. The resulting dualism has led invariably either to a denial of Christ's humanity or to belief in a split-personality which is unintelligible. It is this insistence upon the doctrine of the two natures which, as Prof. Mackintosh argues, is "the chief defect in strictly traditional Christology."¹

1. Mackintosh, p. 293.

CHAPTER 4

THE MODERN PERIOD.

Prof. Forrest tells us that "in spite of Chalcedon the Church remained for centuries practically monophysite".¹ For those who found the duality difficult to accept Monothelitism seemed to be a way out. According to this, though Christ had two natures he had only one 'will'. But in 680 the Council of Constantinople condemned the doctrine of a single will and affirmed that within the single person of Christ there were not only two natures but also two wills. There the matter rested throughout the Middle Ages and through the period of Protestant orthodoxy, right down to the modern period. "From the eighth century to the sixteenth", says Mackintosh, "not a single contribution of real importance was made."²

The dogmas of the Church, as Cave has rightly pointed out, did conserve "the common Christian faith in Christ as both truly God and truly man, and saved the church from partial and premature solutions."³ But as this writer goes on to say, "the categories employed were inadequate, and the philosophy of 'substance', which lies behind these classic definitions, though congruous with the conception of Christianity as 'deification', is incongruous with the conception of Christianity as communion, fellowship between God and man."

1. cf. D.W. Forrest, The Christ of History and Experience, pp. 194ff. 2. Mackintosh, p.223. 3. Cave, p.233.

"Chalcedon", says Dr. Temple, "marks the definite failure of all attempts to explain the Incarnation in terms of Essence, Substance, ¹ Nature and the like." The classic formulae "are too inconsistent and too obscure, too imbedded in ways of thought which have lost for us their meaning to save us from the trouble of thinking for ourselves on the highest of all themes."²

Since religion is essentially an achievement of the whole personality it cannot justly be represented in categories lower than the personal. The incarnation, as we have already pointed out, in our introduction, must be interpreted in terms of personality. Personality, although it may not be the last term in the series, at any rate is the highest level of creation known to us. Thus, in the words of Archbishop Temple, "it affords the best analogy we have for the Most high." "We shall think of Him more accurately", he says, "when we think of Him in terms of personality than in any other way."³ The Greek world, however, did not possess any adequate language for describing personality or its relationships. Hence, "it was driven to abstract terms like substance and hypostasis which lent themselves to a chemical rather than a personal treatment."⁴

1. Christ the Truth, p.159.

3. Temple, p.138.

2. Cave, p.234.

4. cf Raven, p.340.

One of the most creative theologians of the early nineteenth century, and in fact "one of the most amazing and attractive characters of modern times"¹, was Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher interprets Christ in terms of our experience of redemption through him. Because Christ redeems there must be redemptive ~~in his nature~~ forces resident in his nature. These constitute his divinity. The divine in Jesus is further evidenced in the God-consciousness displayed in his life. Like us in nature Christ is yet "distinguished ~~ix~~ from us all by the constant strength of His God-consciousness² which was the veritable existence of God in Him". "Through His essential sinlessness and His absolute perfection" Christ³ was "absolutely distinguished from all other men". This absolute and primary perfection of Jesus is simply the complete and perpetual triumph in Him of the God-consciousness over the sense-consciousness.

It is the holiness and sinlessness of the historical Jesus that make him the true mediator between God and man. Christ is the source of a new spiritual life of communion with God, first realized in Jesus himself and from him communicated to those who are drawn out of themselves into fellowship with him as members of the Christian community. Christian experience shows that Christ was not an example or a pattern only;

1. McCown, The Search For the Real Jesus, p.43.

2. Christian Faith, Gotha Edition, sec.94. 3. ibid. Sec.98.

he was an archetype, the perfect Redeemer, 'the' perfect Mediator between God and man. Salvation was only possible through him and in the sphere of religion he is normative and final for all races and generations of mankind.

Several objections have been brought against Schleiermacher's estimate of Jesus. In the first place the appearance of Jesus in history was supernatural, due to the special creative act of God. It would seem too that this was not the Jesus of history, since in Christ the body is wholly passive and receptive and is entirely without moral conflict. Christ, we believe was not absolute and unconditioned but shared in the limitations of the historical. A further criticism is that Schleiermacher has not faced the problem of the relation of Christ to the eternal life of God.

Although he produced no system, Schleiermacher is rightly regarded as the outstanding theologian of his day. This he has done: "first he proclaimed the advent of Christ and as a supernatural interposition, redeeming ~~the~~ Divine; secondly, he once more placed the figure of Jesus at the centre of ¹ His own religion." A pioneer in the field, he left to others the work of exploration in the new country which he had discovered.

1. Mackintosh, p. 256.

The work begun by Schleiermacher was taken up fifty years later by Albrecht Ritschl. Ritschl abandoned speculative theology and turned to the Jesus of history. Even more persistently than Schleiermacher he strove to vindicate for the historic Christ the central place in his religion. Accordingly he rejects all attempts to explain Christ's person by speculations on the nature of God, or of the pre-existent Logos. Ritschl begins with the revelation of Christ. Jesus is a man in whom God has revealed Himself completely. His divinity can only be proved by Christian experience. It cannot be proved "except to those who have felt His saving influence" upon themselves. Christ is divine just because his gifts - pardon, liberty, life, - are divine. But it is useless to try to explain the significance of Jesus. We know him only through what he has done for us. If he has the value, for us, of God, then he is divine, and so becomes for us the object of religious veneration.

Ritschl refused to speculate on the origin of Christ, his pre-existence or his exaltation. God, as the ultimate Reality was unknowable except through abstractions, revelations or manifestations. Jesus is a manifestation of God, but God has been made concrete apart altogether from this particular manifestation. Christ's uniqueness lies in the fact that he is the author of the Kingdom of God. Any subsequent manifestation would be dependent on him.

Jesus is to be imitated because "He made God's supreme purpose of the union of men in the kingdom of God the aim of his own personal life." At the same time, having helped to clarify our feeling apprehension of God, he becomes the object of our faith and devotion.

Representing right-wing Ritschlianism is Julius Kaftan. For him Christianity means the life 'hid with God in Christ'. Hence it is not only an ethical religion; it is a religion of redemption. Kaftan begins with Christ the exalted Lord, the perfect revelation of God. In fact Christ himself is God revealed in the flesh in human history. It is the exalted Christ who is the object of our faith, and this, says Kaftan, is what we mean when we confess his Godhead. But the exalted Christ is the Jesus of history. "The life of Jesus Christ in the world", he says, "was a divine life in human form. It was a divine life, in that it had for its content the working out of the divine will of love towards men; it was human in that the fulfilment of this divine calling was manifested in fidelity to a human vocation. As divine it was the perfect revelation of God in the flesh; as human the perfect sinless pattern of obedience to God, loyalty¹ to vocation, and inner freedom from the world". There was in his life a perfect unity with God.

1. cf. Dogmatic, pp.443-459.

~~2. cf. Dogmatic, pp.450-50~~

Christ is eternal since our faith in him "lacks adequate expression unless we affirm the eternal God in the historic Saviour, so that he who stands before us there, is¹ he who from eternity is in God". So "although the pre-existence of Christ transcends the reality which we can² grasp it is the necessary consequence of faith."

1. Dogmatic, pp.460-9.

2. Cave, p. 199.

CHAPTER 5

THE INCARNATION, OR THE LOGOS INTERPRETED IN TERMS OF
PERSONALITY.

The doctrine of the Logos with which Jesus is identified in the fourth Gospel today is in the course of being rehabilitated by modern scientific philosophy. This doctrine carries with it all the modern implication of a creative Reason pervading the universal scheme of things. But the scriptural doctrine goes deeper than the modern intellectual conception in that it attaches a redemptive significance to the appearance of God within the time series. For the Christian at any rate ~~and~~ Jesus~~x~~ is not simply the strongest link in the evolutionary chain. The incarnation of Jesus we believe must be interpreted in terms of biological evolution. The eternal background which sustains all life and nature obviously includes factors making for moral redemption as well as factord supporting natural development.¹

Dr. Robert Paton in his very valuable work "Evolution² and the Christian Doctrine of Human Worth" demonstrates the importance of the incarnation in the realm of the spirit. "In the natural order", he points out, "when confronted with a developmental crisis, the growing organism has been stimulated to discover richer channels of form and function through which it might evelve in order to overcome the crisis."

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1. cf. facts of spiritual regeneration. e.g. James' Varieties of Religious Experience.
 2. An unpublished thesis in the University of Edinburgh Library, 1931.

But "crises develop also within the moral and redemptive order of human experience.... These have called forth from time to time new types of spiritual personality fitted to cope with the challenge of the situation." "The great prophets of the world", he says, "are all of this order, born to cope with the crises of their generations and to lift life to new levels."¹

"The moral crises, however," Paton adds, "may be of such a nature that the human organism in itself.... does not possess the requisite equipment to cope successfully with the situation." "In proportion as life increased in self-consciousness it increased also in its reliance upon the spirituality of the cosmos. The need became greater in proportion as humanity exercised its freedom to move away from rather than towards God." The coming of Jesus, he argues, was coincident with the necessity of a new spiritual beginning for mankind. "Humanity stood at the cross-roads. The moral crisis was such that it required the aid of a more than human agency to lead it into richer channels of religious development. To safeguard the fulfillment of humanity's high destiny God himself in the person of Jesus Christ stepped into the arena, compelled by the exigency of His own nature as Love to confront men with the challenge of a fuller and more abundant way of life"², and, we might add, to save them from the consequences of their own folly.

1. Paton, p. 296.

2. Paton, p.297-8.

"Hence, in the fulness of time came Jesus of Nazareth, the Word of God made flesh. To ensure the ultimate spiritual development of the race God in Christ reconciled the world unto Himself."¹ God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. Apart from this conclusion the significance which the early church applied to the person and work of Jesus is meaningless. "Humanity in Him was made the vehicle of a full manifestation of the spirituality that pervades the cosmos."¹ Henceforth it was charged with a fresh dynamic so that if any man be 'in Christ' there is literally a new creation. That is to say, "as the individual appreciates and responds more fully to this communion with the universal, and learns to 'live eternally', he becomes increasingly at one with God: God dwells in him: he incarnates deity."²

The appearance of Jesus Christ in the flesh heralded the emergence of a new spiritual fact in history. At different times and in different ways God had already revealed Himself in past history. But in the spiritual crisis of the first century there was revealed in its richest possible concreteness the quality of that hinterland of life in which all existence is sustained. "Through the human life of Jesus there worked a power which was felt as coming from beyond, from God Himself, who here has found His uniquely perfect self-expression."³ "The Christian gospel", to quote Baillie once more, "is that the eternal Mind and Will have at last been fully revealed to us in a Man - the Man Christ Jesus."⁴

1. Paton, p.299. 2. Raven, p.443. 3. Temple, p.144.
4. Baillie, p.114.

Speculative Christologies of modern times seem to fall into two main classes. Some writers see in Christ a man filled with the divine, the example 'par excellence', since in him the religious consciousness finds exemplary perfection, and truly the religious experience expressed in the life and teaching of Jesus does represent the supreme achievement of humanity. Others see in him the incarnation of the Logos, the supreme revelation of God and the Redeemer of mankind. The truth seems to lie between these two positions. Jesus, we believe, is both the 'ideal' of mankind and the incarnation of Godhead. Prof. Baillie has most clearly set forth this view of the 'double significance' of Jesus. He sees in the advent of the Man of Nazareth "a direct enterprise of God for the enlightenment and salvation of the world." "In the spirit of his life", he says, the church has found "not merely¹ an ideal for humanity, but also the self-disclosure of Deity." "On the one hand, He represents the highest point to which our human race has yet attained. He stands, by himself alone, at the vanguard of our human search for the Divine. He is altogether one of ourselves, a man among men, a human brother to the lowliest among us, with the same handicaps and the same opportunities. He had his human chance just as you and I have ours; He had His life to make or mar, and His human free-will to make or mar it with. He differs from us only in that He made more of His human opportunity than any of the rest of us has ever made of ours, and used his free-will to

1. Baillie, p.102.

better ends. He is the great Discoverer, the great Trail-finder, the great Leader of men and Himself the Ideal Man to whose faith and patience and bravery we must ever keep ~~go~~ going back for guidance and inspiration until, as St. Paul says, we all come unto the stature of his own fulness. But on the other hand we cannot read the story of Christ's life without its being very strongly borne in upon us that it marks the culmination, not only of our human search for God, but also of God's search for the human heart.¹ Dr. Temple expresses the same idea in these words: "In Jesus Christ", he says, "we shall find the one adequate presentation of God - not adequate, of course, to the infinite glory of God in all his attributes, but adequate to every human need, for it shows us God in terms of our^{own} experience. But in Jesus Christ we shall find also the one adequate presentation of Man - not man as he is apart from the indwelling of God, but man as he is in his truest nature, which is only made actual when man becomes the means to the self-expression of God."² In Jesus God Himself became fully human, going forth from Himself, yet at the same time retaining his transcendent nature.³ "He is the incomparable revealer of God to us, the incomparable example to us, just because he is surely one of us."⁴

1. Baillie, pp.107-8.

2. Temple, p.148.

3. W.M.Horton, Our Eternal Contemporary, cf. pp.132-3.

4. Horton, p.139.

In his exemplary capacity, as Dr. Brunner points out,¹
Jesus redeems others by arousing in them the same God-
consciousness which ~~he~~ ~~himself~~ felt - a feeling of
union with the infinite. As the incarnation of deity we have
already given full weight to the redemptive significance of
Jesus. In either capacity salvation is effected only through
the outgoing nature of God in the process of redemption.
Perhaps Cave is right when he says "Whether we see in Christ
the God-filled man or the incarnate Son of God, it matters
not so much if we have found in Him the perfect Revealer of
God and the sufficient Saviour of men."² At any rate the
felt experience of the Christian church has been that God
gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him
should not perish but have everlasting life.

The problem of the 'uniqueness' of Jesus still remains
to be answered. "Between the divinity of sages and prophets
and the divinity of 'esus", says Raven, "there was only a
difference in degree. If He were an intruder from another
sphere, if there were no spark of deity in us, and no fully
personal Manhood in Him, we might admire and worship; but
between God and man the antithesis would still remain."³

1. Emil Brunner, The Philosophy of Religion, 1937, p.46.

2. Cave, p.239.

3. Raven, p.432.

This threat to the uniqueness of Jesus is answered by Prof. John Baillie of Edinburgh. "There is a tendency in our time", he says, "to speak of God's presence in Christ as being different only in degree, and not at all in kind, from his presence in other men. But the distinction is after all an unreal one and is not without its perils. For surely the very glory and headmark of all living history and living personality is just its uniqueness, its irreducible singularity and unrepeatability, its refusal to conform to any kind of quantitative computation of measure or degree. So the question is not as to the comparative measure of Christ's divinity, but as to the particular and unique nature of the work which, through and in Him, God has accomplished in our souls and in the world."¹ Between Jesus Christ and the rest of us the difference ~~is so great~~ would seem to be so great as to constitute a difference of kind.

It is clear therefore that life in God as Jesus lived and taught it does not necessarily depend upon an orthodox confession of his divinity. Jesus Christ is not another name for God "but the name of a Man in whom God was, and through whom God came to meet us."² With Farmer we believe that "it is idle to imagine that we are ever going to comprehend the ultimate nature of God."³

1. Baillie, p.121.

2. *ibid.* p.201.

3. Experience of God, p.216. cf also Matthews, Future of Christianity, p.115.

It is only in Christ that we know God in any Christian sense. It is Christ we know and we have to try to interpret God through him. "Remember", says Dr. Temple, "that the importance of all we say about Him (Christ) comes from the consequent thought of God..... God is Christlike. The majesty which rules all things is the majesty of such love as¹ we see in Christ."

But even if Jesus Christ is not another name for God, for many people He has the value of God, and the experience of Jesus is identical with the experience of God. Baillie gives us a list of quotations to show that union with Christ and union with God are not two experiences but one. Prof. Forrest points out that "by no analysis is he (the Christian) able to distinguish his communion with the Father from his communion with Christ."² Stanley Jones testifies that "it is an actual fact of experience that when you deepen the Christ-consciousness you deepen the God-consciousness." "Jesus", he says, "does not push out or rival God; the more I know of Him the more I know of the Father."³ Prof. Morgan is still more emphatic: "It is simply not possible to distinguish between the operations of the living Christ and God; and no Christian man tries."⁴ And here is James Stewart:

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1. An article on 'How Can We Find God' in the Christian Century (Chicago) for 28th Feb. 1929.
 2. The Christ of History and Experience, 1897, p.166.
 3. The Christ of the Indian Road, p.59.
 4. The Nature and Right of Religion, 1926, p.277.

"The more any man comes to be 'in Christ', the more is he 'in God'. There are not two experiences but one."¹

Unfortunately we cannot agree with Archbishop Temple or Canon Raven, that because Jesus has the value of God,² therefore he is God. To affirm that Christ is God is to confuse being with becoming; it is to confound transcendence with immanence. In Christianity God the Father is the only object of worship - a Being who transcends the universe in the sense of being its origin and creator, but who is immanent in all His works. We can admit with Case that "Jesus has the value of God for us in that he makes possible for the believer the sense of the divine Fatherhood and the practice of human brotherhood. In him the love and moral perfection of God became incarnate. And if one so chooses he may evaluate this fact by speaking of the divinity, or indeed the deity, of Christ."³ In our introduction we have already pointed out that there has always been a desire for a physical expression of the invisible God. Thus for the great majority of Christians the religious experience will be definitely Christocentric. Nevertheless, "it will no doubt be true that some will find their devotion more

1. A Man in Christ, p.170.

2. cf. Temple, Christ the Truth, p.135 and footnote; also Raven, Jesus and the Gospel of Love, p.444.

3. Case, Jesus, A New Biography, p.333.

emphatically God-centred, 'passing beyond the God-man to the
Godhead'¹, since "the real centre and burden of the Christian
confession is a conviction concerning the nature of God."²

Thus our interpretation of both Jesus and man depends for
its final truth upon the nature of God Himself. "Because
God is what He is, man is what he is, and he is endowed with
freedom to become the new creation that he may be in Jesus
Christ."³

1. W.P. Paterson, The Nature of Religion, p.290, quoted by
Raven, p.121.

2. Baillie, p.142f.

3. Paton, p.301.

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